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ABSTRACT

This report describes a model for equitable schooling as it regards quality schooling experiences and equality of access for all. According to the model, equitable schooling opportunity is provided when two major dimensions of schooling are present: (1) equality of effectiveness, defined on the dimensions of school effectiveness and instructional effectiveness; and (2) equality of structure. The latter is defined in terms of how instructional and social goals inform both activity structures (i.e. how instruction is organized at the classroom level and how other schooling experiences are organized at the school level) and task and institutional demands that are inherent in activity structures and to which students must respond. When these two major dimensions are present in the organization and delivery of appropriate schooling experiences, and mediation of instruction (the process of adapting instructional methods to accommodate students' cultural and language differences) is added to them, then students are provided with equal access to schooling. Actual participation in schooling experiences can be evaluated (1) by observing the characteristics of competent student participation, or the manner in which students respond to task and institutional demands; and (2) by observing the achievement of instructional and social goals through tests of academic achievement, or observation of prosocial behavior. (CMG)

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PREFACE

During 1983, the Northwest Regional Exchange sponsored the development of six focused research reports whose topics were identified by the states within the region--Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and the Pacific area. The titles of these publications include:

- Designing Excellence in Secondary Vocational Education: Applications of Principles from Effective Schooling and Successful Business Practices
- Toward Excellence: Student and Teacher Behaviors as Predictors of School Success
- State Level Governance: Agenda for New Business or Old?
- A Call for School Reform
- Global Education: State of the Art
- Equitable Schooling Opportunity in a Multicultural Milieu

We have found this dissemination strategy an effective and efficient means of moving knowledge to the user level. Each report is in response to state defined information needs and is intended to influence the improvement of school practice. In each case, a specific knowledge(s) base, anchored in research and development, is analyzed and synthesized. The process is more telescopic than broadly comprehensive in nature. Elements of careful selectivity and professional judgment come into play as authors examine the information against the backdrops of current state needs, directions, and/or interests. As a result, research-based implications and recommendations for action emerge that are targeted and relevant to the region.

This particular report builds on the research and development findings in the general area of Effective Schooling and more specifically, effective instruction in successful bilingual instructional settings. Equitable schooling opportunities is the focus of the study. Under examination are quality schooling experiences and the issue of equality of access by all students.

It is anticipated that this report will act as a springboard for the development of some action research projects in the state of Hawaii and other Pacific entities. The underlying principles that will guide these projects include the following: 1) the local school site as the unit of change; 2) the key role of the principal as instructional leader and catalyst for change; and 3) the process of school improvement as purposeful and evolutionary in nature.

J. T. Pascarelli, Ed. D.

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes a model for equitable schooling. It is based on three bodies of research: (1) the effective schooling research, (2) the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features descriptive study (SBIF), and (3) the theoretical analysis of activity structures and the implicit information about values and norms which they carry.

The effective schooling research has identified characteristics of instruction and schools which are associated with higher than expected student achievement. Observational and case study methods make up the paradigm.

The SBIF descriptive study, directed by William Tikunoff, used this paradigm to identify those features of bilingual instruction which were associated with high achievement by limited English proficient (LEP) students. Researchers in this study found that while effective bilingual teachers resemble effective monolingual teachers in instructional methods and classroom management to a certain extent, they adapted their instructional methods in several ways to accommodate language and cultural differences among LEP students. The researchers referred to this accommodation as mediation of instruction. Several examples of mediation of instruction are given in the paper.

The analysis of activity structures indicates that much of what is learned in activity is imparted through the nature of the activity, its

organization, and how and with whom one is expected to interact. The authors examine the components of activity structures inherent in schooling as well as the interrelationship between activity structure and instructional and social goals. It is through activity structures that institutional and task demands are made on students. Often, activities are structured in such a way that demands are made on minority students that are contrary to their cultural norms of behavior. Furthermore, these demands are rarely made explicit, yet a student's performance is evaluated by his/her ability to meet such demands.

The authors describe seven dimensions of activity structures found in schooling, giving examples of how each dimension can be varied to produce very different task demands. They point out some areas of cultural conflict inherent in activity structures, e.g., requiring public verbal response from students whose home culture considers this to be "showing off."

Throughout, the authors emphasize that students from minority cultures must be taught to respond appropriately to the task demands and the institutional demands of the majority culture if they are to have equal educational opportunities. This is imperative, since it is within the majority culture that they will be evaluated at school and function as adults. The authors contend that in order to do so we must make explicit the "hidden curriculum"--those differences between the cultural norms of school and those of the home.

Steps are outlined that can be used by principals and teachers to ensure that equitable schooling opportunities are available.

I. INTRODUCTION

A cornerstone of the democracy in which we live is the right of each individual to a free and equal education. This right is interpreted by the fifty states as free public schooling from the first through twelfth grades, and sometimes kindergarten. History records that, from time to time, public attention to the nature and condition of public schooling has led to numerous attempts to improve the quality of schooling experiences for the nation's children. We currently are experiencing such a phenomenon.

The current focus is upon improving the quality of instruction that students are receiving, and responds to numerous criticisms of public schools. Paramount among these is the declining performance of students on tests of academic achievement in the so-called basic skills: reading, writing, and mathematics (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Tied to this is a growing concern with the declining expertise of the teaching force, a scarcity of mathematics and science teachers at the secondary school level, and the reported decline in the number of qualified young persons preparing to enter the teaching force.

The ideas in this paper build from previous research supported primarily by two agencies in the U.S. Department of Education: the National Institute of Education and the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs through its Part C Research Agenda for Bilingual Education. The author is grateful for their support, as well as for the contributions to the shaping of these ideas over the past several years by three esteemed colleagues: Beatrice A. Ward, Steven T. Bossert, and Jose A. Vazquez-Faria.

As these and other factors have combined to erode the public's confidence in its schools, financial support at the local, state, and federal levels has become increasingly difficult to obtain. This is true not only for proposed new educational programs, but for the continuing support of basic and long-term entitlement programs as well. In short, public schools have had to line up with other so-called "domestic" programs to lobby for their share of the taxpayer's dollar.

One pervasive issue with regard to obtaining quality education for the nation's students emerged from the social and political movements of the 1960s and coalesced into the fight for equity: the right of all students--regardless of race, sex, native language, social or economic status, or physical or mental handicaps--to an education of equal quality. While numerous programs have been legislated or mandated by the courts since the early 1960s to achieve this, they have resulted in limited success.

One reason--and the premise for this paper--is that such attempts have been piecemeal and have not strived toward integrating the components of equity into effective schooling practices. This paper draws from the research on school and instructional effectiveness completed in the past two decades to define "equitable schooling opportunity" for all students.

The assumptions which guide identification of the characteristics of equitable schooling opportunity are presented first and discussed. Then, "equitable schooling opportunity" is defined in terms of its component characteristics. Next, each characteristic is described in turn. Finally, some recommendations are made with regard to the process schooling practitioners might use to incorporate the components of equitable schooling opportunity into their own instructional programs.

II. THE NATURE OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLING IN THE U.S.

Schools reflect the society which they serve and in which they exist. Thus, in the schools for a given society, one might expect to find similar goals, similar expectations for students (both concerning their ability to "learn" and learning outcomes), and similar values and norms (translated into rules and a profile of normative behavior for students and teachers). These are manifested in how schools are structured; in the underlying values, rules, and norms; and in how instruction is perceived, organized, and delivered.[1]

Thus it is that the experience of "going to school" is common to all Americans: we can talk about our schooling experiences to other adult Americans, wherever in the U.S. they might have occurred, and be talking about experiences that are so similar that we understand each other. In a similar vein, we use this information to judge the schooling our children receive and to make educational decisions generally. We all "know" what school is about, what the requirements are for children who attend school, and what entails "good instruction." [2]

One consequence of this perception of schooling-as-a-common experience is that we tend to hold a common set of expectations for all students. While we use rhetoric that recognizes individual differences among students-as-learners, we nevertheless expect that all persons who attend school in the U.S. will emerge with a similar set of skills and with similar ability to perform the tasks of a competent adult. Conversely, this attitude often extends to our thinking about children and the skills they bring to school.

However, the world around us is constantly changing, affected by scientific and technological advances, by the so-called "information explosion," and by the shifting of peoples from one part of the world to another (Toffler, 1980; Yankelovich, 1981). More than any other social institution, schools reflect these changes and are expected to respond to them.

By and large, curriculum change and related staff development accommodated scientific or technological advances and the information explosion. Several recent social and political events, however, have presented challenges which schools are experiencing difficulty in resolving. In particular, the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s have resulted in legislation which mandates that schools provide "equal educational opportunity" for all students. Three important cases-in-point have forced schools to reassess their schooling programs:

1. The Brown vs. Topeka, Kansas decision rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court (1959) requires that school districts provide schooling of equal quality for all of their students. One effect has been the busing of students from one attendance area to another in order to redistribute populations of students across all schools so that a racial balance is achieved ("desegregation").

2. The Lau vs. Nichols decision (1974), which requires that schools provide instruction that is accessible by students whose native language is other than English. One controversial result is that "transitional bilingual education" (TBE) has been the predominant instructional strategy promoted for limited English proficient students. These programs are designed to assimilate foreign language speakers into the dominant linguistic and cultural group of the nation.

3. U.S. Public Law 94-142, which requires that schools provide a "least restrictive environment" for the schooling of physically or educationally handicapped youngsters. This has resulted in moving many handicapped students into regular classrooms. These students previously had been instructed in self-contained ("restrictive") classrooms, isolated from other students.

Another source of tension for schools is the recent change in federal immigration policy. As a consequence of these changes, vast numbers of peoples from many parts of the world, but primarily from war-torn areas of Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East, have moved to the U.S. These newly-arrived students have presented the schools with several new problems. For example, many of them speak languages (some with subdialects) unknown to instructional personnel. Many come from unfamiliar home cultures, some of which have values and norms in conflict with those of the majority U.S. culture. In some cases, students are not literate in their own native language, so usual bilingual instructional strategies are not appropriate. In addition, school-age children have not previously attended school, so they are not familiar with school rules and expectations.

As a result of our experiences with adjusting schooling programs to respond to changes in scientific and technological knowledge, as well as to social and political pressures, we have come to accept some fundamental beliefs about schooling. Among these are the following:

1. The primary goal of schooling is to prepare students to participate in mainstream U.S. society as competent, productive adults. During their school careers, students are expected to develop the academic and social skills which are necessary to achieve this participation. It is the responsibility of education personnel to develop the instructional strategies necessary to ensure that <u>all</u> students have equal access to obtaining this goal.

2. The process of schooling is a public enterprise, consisting of a partnership among those responsible for schooling (faculties, school administrators, school board members, other school agencies at the state and federal levels), the parents of children who attend the schools, and the larger community which ultimately will be affected by the products of the schools (business persons, legislators, industry, etc.).

3. We recognize that there is strength in cultural and linguistic diversity. Schools must respect and encourage this diversity while providing equitable schooling experiences for all students. At the same time, schools must prepare all students with academic, social, and linguistic skills that will enable them to participate as competent adults in mainstream, monolingual-English U.S. society.

4. Research has identified several characteristics of effective instruction and effective schooling practice (Edmonds & Frederiksen, 1978; Good, 1979). Those responsible for schooling should become familiar with this information, utilize it, and participate in its generation as well as its application.

5. Changes in society will become more and more rapid. In the future, schools probably will continue to be confronted with the problems posed by societal changes. For this reason, learning how to assess changes, how to adjust schooling experiences to accommodate change, and how to know if success is being achieved is a fundamental task confronting all school personnel.

6. The most effective unit of change is the school (Stallings & Mohlman, 1981). The person most responsible for schooling outcomes at this level is the principal. The principal's leadership and support is necessary to produce lasting, significant changes which result in more effective schooling experiences for all students.

To summarize, U.S. schools of the future can be characterized by two major dimensions: (1) by the complexity of the schooling process and (2) by the diversity of their student populations. Based on our experiences since the 1950s, we can predict that knowledge will continue to increase and that the fabric of U.S. society will continue to change, bringing scientific, social, and political pressures that will affect the schooling experiences of the nation's children. More and more students will come to school bringing varying sets of values and norms, based upon differing home experiences and cultures; native languages other than English; and needs, problems, and learning characteristics which are direct results of interacting with the products of a society that continues to grow more diverse and complex. School personnel must be prepared to plan for and accommodate this complexity.

Appropriate response to these changes in the present and the future requires that school personnel utilize information from at least two sources--information specifying the requirements for equitable schooling opportunity for all students, and information concerning the process of change for producing effective instructional experiences for all students. The remainder of this paper focuses on these information sources.

III. COMPONENTS OF EQUITABLE SCHOOLING OPPORTUNITY

Given this description of schools as institutional mirrors of the society they serve, a common characteristic of schools which can be predicted for the future is that they will be populated by students of increasingly complex backgrounds. Factors contributing to this complexity include native home cultures which differ from mainstream U.S. culture; possession of native languages other than English, some of which are new to schools; family economic situations which differ greatly; and home experiences which are diverse (e.g., "latch-key" homes where both parents work and where there is little supervision until the evening; single-parent families; divorced parents, etc.).

Since all of these factors combine to inform students with varying repertoires of human perceptions, values, beliefs, and behavior, we can broadly characterize schools to be emerging as multicultural in nature. Although not all schools might be embued with all of the preceding characteristics, sufficient examples of them will be present at sufficient numbers of schools such that the "multicultural schooling milieu" becomes a useful concept.

To provide for the needs of students from such diverse backgrounds and experiences requires that schooling be effective and equitable for all students. The goal becomes two-fold: (1) quality schooling

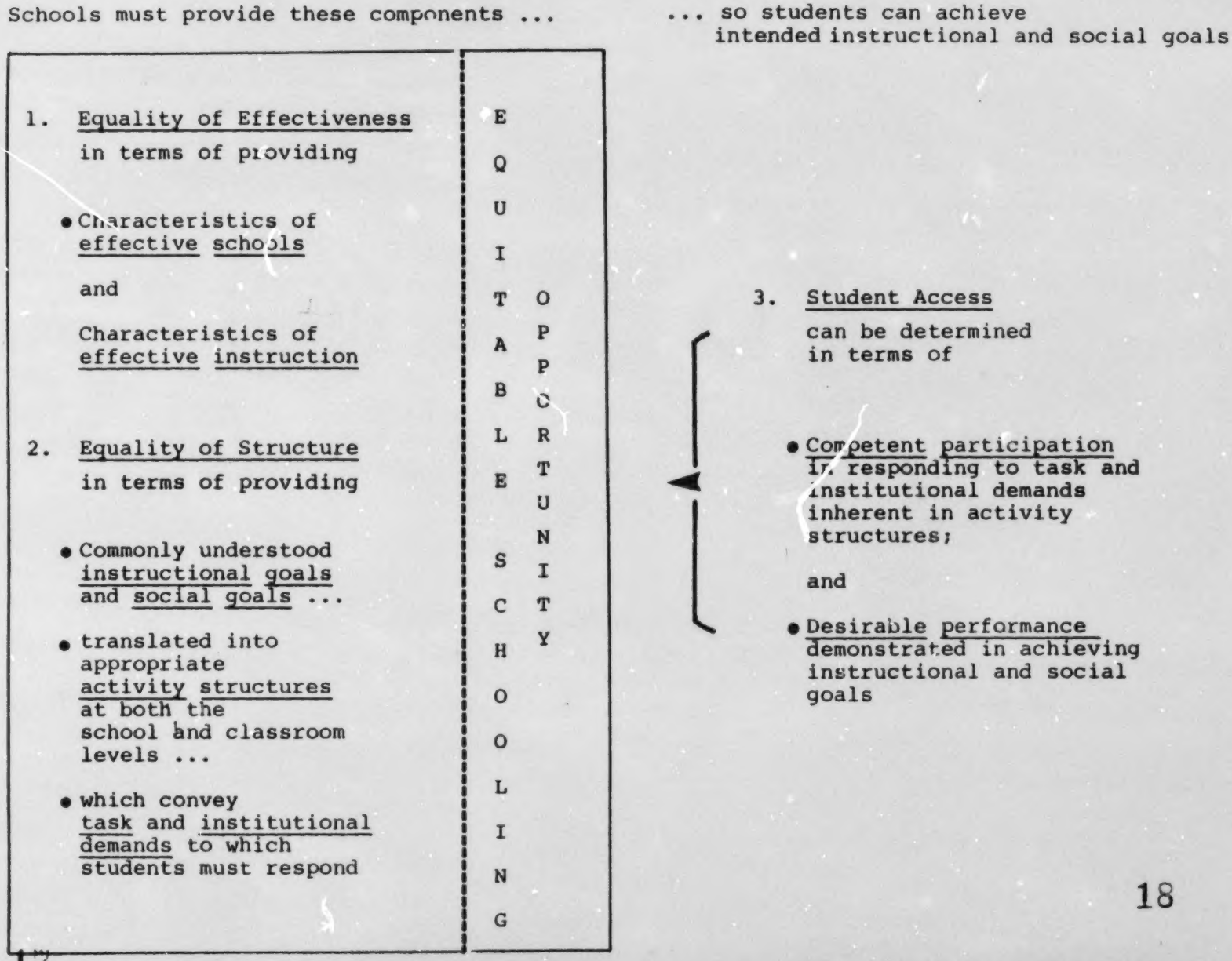
experiences based on characteristics of effective schools and effective instruction; and, (2) equal access by all students to these quality schooling experiences. If equal access to quality education is available, then students should demonstrate competent participation and high achievement.

The components of equitable schooling opportunity are depicted in Figure 1. As conceptualized here, Equitable Schooling Opportunity is provided when two major dimensions of schooling are present: (1) Equality of Effectiveness in terms of the characteristics of effective schools and effective instruction; and (2) Equality of Structure in terms of how instructional and social goals inform both (a) activity structures (i.e., how instruction is organized at the classroom level and how other schooling experiences are organized at the school level); and (b) task and institutional demands which are inherent in activity structures and to which students must respond.

When these two major dimensions are present in the organization and delivery of appropriate schooling experiences, then students are provided equal access to schooling. Participation in schooling experiences can be evaluated: (1) by observing the characteristics of competent participation, or the manner in which students respond to task and institutional demands, and (2) by observing the achievement of instructional and social goals, through tests of academic achievement or observation of pro-social behavior.

Each of the components of equitable schooling opportunity is described in the following.

Figure 1. Components of equitable schooling opportunity


Schools must provide these components ...
1. Equality of Effectiveness
in terms of providing
• Characteristics of effective schools
and
Characteristics of effective instruction
2. Equality of Structure
in terms of providing
• Commonly understood instructional goals and social goals ...
• translated into appropriate activity structures at both the school and classroom levels ...
• which convey task and institutional demands to which students must respond
EQUITABLE SCHOOLING
OPPORTUNITY
... so students can achieve intended instructional and social goals
3. Student Access
can be determined in terms of
• Competent participation in responding to task and institutional demands inherent in activity structures;
and
• Desirable performance demonstrated in achieving instructional and social goals

Equality of Effectiveness

The first component of equitable schooling opportunity requires that schools ensure the presence of characteristics of effectiveness along two dimensions: (1) school effectiveness and, (2) instructional effectiveness. Both dimensions build from research into those factors that need to be present if students are to perform better than ordinarily expected on tests of academic achievement, primarily in reading, writing, and mathematics. In utilizing this information, at least two caveats need to be observed.

First, "effectiveness" in both bodies of research is defined by a single measure, the performance of students on tests of academic achievement. Usually, these are tests which focus on basic skills, i.e., reading and mathematics. Thus, effectiveness is determined by student achievement of instructional goals only. One can only speculate about how this definition of effectiveness relates to the attainment of social goals such as the successful "integration" of students of various races, the primary goal of school desegregation efforts.

Another criticism of the definition of effectiveness is that performance usually has been based on mean or average scores for a given class or student body (Madaus et al., 1980). As such, they reflect the same problems of aggregation and loss of detail that any mean score presents. Thus, some critics claim that only when one can assure that all students along the continuum of a distribution of scores have improved in performance can one claim true effectiveness. Edmonds & Frederiksen (1978), for example, require that effectiveness be defined by equal gains at both the upper and lower quartiles of students' scores on a distribution.

Second, conclusions regarding what constitutes both effective schools and effective instruction are based primarily on studies conducted at the elementary school level. It is possible that the characteristics of effective secondary schools might vary from these. Recent information, however, suggests that many of these characteristics are descriptive of effectiveness at the secondary school levels as well (Ward, 1983).

Caveats notwithstanding, information concerning what constitutes effectiveness at the school and classroom levels cannot be discounted. Thus, as a first component of equitable schooling opportunity, schooling personnel need to work to ensure that the characteristics of these two dimensions of effectiveness are present.

Providing the Characteristics of Effective Schools

In studies of several "effective schools," i.e., those outlier schools in which student achievement gain (as measured by tests of academic achievement) was unusually high, several common characteristics were identified. In low-achieving schools, these characteristics were not present. Further, in studies of school "turn-a-round," when these characteristics were instituted, achievement scores increased. One could then hypothesize a causal link between the presence of these characteristics of schools and instruction and high student achievement.[3]

While several sources could be used to provide summary information here, the U.S. Secretary of Education, Terrell H. Bell, has summarized these as five factors:

1. Strong administrative leadership by the school principal, especially in regard to instructional matters

2. A school climate conducive to learning, that is, a safe and orderly school relatively free of discipline and vandalism problems
3. Schoolwide emphasis on basic skills instruction (which entails acceptance among the professional staff that instruction in the basic skills is the primary goal of the school)
4. Teacher expectations that all students, regardless of family background, can reach appropriate levels of achievement
5. A system for monitoring and assessing pupil performance which is tied to instructional objectives (Bell, 1981, p. 5)

Principal as instructional leader. It is a given in the world of school administration that the successful operation of a school depends on the quality of the person in charge--the principal. This perception has been validated in the evaluations of school innovation implementation and substantiated most recently in the work of Hall & Loucks (1981) and their colleagues. Generally, changes in schools take place when the principal supports them and encourages their implementation.

It is therefore not surprising to learn that effective schools are those with effective principals in charge. Effectiveness here is defined in terms of the instructional leadership provided by the principal. Principals of the "effective schools" display many of the following characteristics:

- Commitment to excellence
- Good communication skills
- Facilitative of personal/professional growth of staff
- Ability to inspire and focus staff effort
- High visibility in the school

As instructional leader in a school, the principal has several leadership functions which are directly related to assuring that the key factors of instructional effectiveness are in place. They include:

- Providing appropriate staff development
- Providing instructional support
- Acquiring and allocating resources
- Effective coordination of program elements
- Trouble-shooting

Effective principals devote a large percentage of working time to instructional matters. Although they handle administrative matters efficiently, effective principals attend to school climate and quality instruction as well, believing that these are vital to school success.[4]

While these characteristics are generally true for effective elementary school principals, Ward (1983) found a degree of difference in their manifestation among secondary school principals. For example, at the secondary level, principals cannot be expected to know the full range of curriculum, so they rely on department chairpersons in the subject areas to provide this expertise. However, they seem to possess similar skills in other areas of leadership.

Maintaining a positive school climate. In addition to providing instructional leadership, principals are important to maintaining a safe and orderly school environment. They handle behavior problems immediately, and provide positive and frequent communication with the parents and other adults in the community. They explicitly state expectations for behavior and solicit agreement by all parties to these behavioral requirements. Behavioral expectations are enforced consistently, although discipline measures are more likely to be informative than punitive.

Tomlinson (1981) identified as among those conditions in schools which are necessary for learning "order and stability in the learning environment, [and] minimal distraction from the learning process." He suggested that learning is more likely to result "in a tranquil context than in a chaotic one, in a distraction-free context than in one that diverts children's attention to other than the course of instruction" (p. 375). Principals convey their commitment to achievement by cutting distractions and interruptions to a minimum.

Emphasis on academic skills. The primary criterion for school effectiveness has been better-than-expected student performance on tests of academic achievement. Thus, it probably is not surprising that schools considered to be effective place an emphasis on attainment of academic skills by their students. However, what is important is that because this emphasis is across all grade levels at a given school, it must be assumed that there is general agreement among the faculty that attainment of academic skills is an important outcome of schooling.

Professional staff at effective schools do much to promote a seriousness of purpose with regard to learning. Instructional objectives and expectations for students are made public. Both parents and students know the requirements for success as well as the resultant sanctions for not completing work or not trying. Classes begin on time, and little time is lost in attending to noninstructional matters. There is agreement that learning is important, and everyone knows what is expected and responds accordingly.

Teacher efficacy. At an effective school, the expectations of teachers for student performance are high. Teachers believe that

students can reach appropriate levels of achievement. In addition, they are confident that they can teach all students, regardless of their family background or personal characteristics and problems.

Monitoring and assessing student progress. A fifth characteristic of effective schools is that of monitoring and assessing students' progress in obtaining academic skills. The staff of an effective school regularly monitors students' progress and adjusts instruction accordingly. Progress is measured with relation to schoolwide instructional goals which have been agreed upon by the faculty and reported regularly to students and their parents. Because goals and expectations are public and known by all concerned, and progress is reported on a regular basis, help for students can be provided on an ongoing basis. Students know how well they are doing at all times. They need not wait until a final grade is given for a course or class to assess their achievement.

On the surface, the characteristics of effective schools may seem simplistic. They convey that principals and teachers at a given school agree upon what they are doing, believe they can do it, and work at getting it done in the ways described. Declining scores of students on tests of academic achievement, however, indicate that the characteristics of effective schools might not be present at all schools.

For purposes of equity, schools and school districts should work toward ensuring the presence of these characteristics in all schools for all students. Their absence suggests that excellence in schooling opportunity has not been provided.

Providing the Characteristics of Effective Instruction

Research on instruction at the elementary school level has identified characteristics of effective instruction. These characteristics have emerged from the aggregated findings of various studies and have consistently related to increased learning gains for students as measured by tests of academic achievement in reading and mathematics. Among these are the following:

1. Effective teachers organize and manage instruction such that little time is lost in distractions, transitions from one activity to another, major disciplinary disruptions, etc.

2. Teachers who set goals and articulate them clearly, give clear instruction with many examples and illustrations, actively monitor student progress and adjust instruction accordingly, and provide appropriate feedback to students with regard to accurate task completion produce the greatest student academic achievement gains in reading and mathematics.

3. Teachers' sense of efficacy is important. When teachers believe that students will do well academically, and believe that they can teach them, students consistently do well on tests of academic achievement in reading and mathematics. [5]

However, there appears to be no generic teaching method. Given different instructional contexts, teachers use different instructional strategies to produce similar student results. Factors which contribute to varying instructional contexts include things such as students' personal, social, and academic characteristics; the nature of subject content, curriculum, and materials; and so on.

The term most commonly used for effective instructional behavior such as that described previously is "direct instruction," or as Good and Grouws (1975) term it, "active teaching." Good (1983) has elaborated on his preference for this choice of terminology, indicating that it conveys

interactiveness between the teacher and the students whom the teacher is instructing. For this reason, it is the preferred term for use in this paper.

The ability to communicate clearly is the first component of active teaching.

The effective teacher clearly specifies the outcomes of instructional tasks and how to achieve them. Giving directions accurately, specifying tasks and how students will know when they have completed them successfully, and presenting new information in ways that will make it understood, are all central to ensuring that students have access to instruction.

A second active teaching behavior is obtaining and maintaining students' engagement in instructional tasks. This requires considerable management of classroom activity: resolving potential disturbances, keeping students' attention from wandering, and pacing instruction appropriately. In addition, however, teachers must maintain their own task focus, promote students' involvement in instruction, and communicate their belief that students can accomplish tasks successfully.

A third active teaching behavior concerns the regulation of students' accuracy in completing instructional tasks. Effective teachers monitor students' work frequently, providing immediate feedback to ensure that students know when they are achieving accuracy or how to achieve it.

It is important to note the emphasis here on the immediacy of providing feedback. Students who are not achieving accuracy or who are participating in an instructional activity inappropriately need immediate information in order to alter their strategies or behavior. Otherwise,

students run the risk of repeating inappropriate behavior, continuing to make the same errors, or continuing to use ineffective strategies.

Context is critical to determining the appropriateness of instructional strategies. Classrooms vary along many instructional strategies to achieve competent student participation in classroom instructional activity. In particular, given that needs and learning characteristics vary among students, effective teachers differentiate instruction in order to obtain similar performance from students (Tikunoff, 1983). In multicultural settings, this differentiation serves to act as a "go-between" of the student's home culture and/or language and those of the school. A description of how effective teachers mediate instruction is provided later in this paper.

Equality of Structure

In providing equitable schooling, attention to structure is as important as assuring effectiveness at the school and classroom levels. Structure refers to the organization of activities and the rules and demands inherent in them which communicate the normative behavior required of students at a school.

An observation about schools is that rules frequently are implicit rather than explicit, embedded in the "hidden curriculum." As Postman and Weingartner noted, "A classroom is an environment and . . . the way it is organized carries the burden of what people will learn from it . . .[for] the critical content of any learning experience is the method or process through which the learning occurs" (1969, pp. 18 & 19).

Students, teachers, administrators, and other adults at a given school represent diverse backgrounds and unique experiences, capabilities, interests, and goals. Barr & Dreeban (1977) identified this mix of human characteristics as the single most important reason why instruction in schools is so much more complex than simple, dyadic, learning which psychological principles would lead us to believe. Attention to the social as well as the psychological behavior of individuals is required, for the ways in which schools and classrooms are organized influence both achievement and friendship patterns. As Bossert suggested, "What students are exposed to [in school] should affect what they learn. Yet the structure and methods used to transmit the content of the curriculum and to facilitate the development of required skills also are important determinants of learning" (1978, p. 13).

The so-called "hidden" curriculum needs to be made more explicit. School personnel need to be made aware of what the structure of their school and classroom instruction conveys to students in order to determine if students are learning what is intended. To do so requires understanding the nature of the demands being created in the structure of learning activities in our schools.

What do students learn by "coming to school?" How can we analyze the structure of learning activities in our schools so that we know the implicit rules and what they require of students? These topics are addressed next.

What Students Learn from the Structure of School Experiences

Frequent observers of schools and what goes on in them will not be surprised that, by and large, schools are workplaces. Students come to school to work, and it is assumed that through working they are learning. In fact, much of the rhetoric of schooling focuses on the preparation of students to assume positions of responsibility as adult members of the nation's work force.

Teachers and students understand this well. Each day usually begins with a teacher's pronouncement, "Okay, let's get to work." Students know that if they are not working, teachers will sanction them to "get back to work." Even when students do not understand what it is they are supposed to be doing, they apparently are fully aware of a teacher's expectations and try to appear as though they are working in order not to draw the teacher's sanctions.

"Going to school" is a socialization process requiring a student to learn a new repertoire of behavior that is very different from what was learned at home. In a sense, what one learns at school links what one learned at home with what one will need to know to be competent as an adult. This process of socialization is accomplished by establishing and reinforcing social norms, or principles of conduct. As Dreeban observed, "Schooling contributes to pupils' learning what the norms are, accepting them, and acting according to them" (Dreeban, 1968, p. 27).

What are some of the norms we learn at school? Bidwell (1972) suggested that there are two major types: technical socialization and moral socialization. Technical socialization is "developing intellectual and motor skills and learning items of information and systems of thought

to organize them," while moral socialization is acquiring "values and goals for conduct," learning to be "responsive to moral rules" while gaining "a view of the world as a moral order" (Bidwell, 1972, p. 1).

To contrast what is learned at home and what is learned at school, consider the differences between how a child is required to operate in these two environments. At home, a child may call upon others for help, while school tasks typically require that one learn to work independently, be self-reliant, accept responsibility for one's own behavior and the consequences thereof, and differentiate between when it is all right to work with or to help others and when it is wrong to do so. At home, children are motivated to achieve through nurturance, while in school, achievement is obtained by pitting children against some standard of excellence, and frequently against each other.

At home, children may work and play alone if they wish, even when among other children. School, however, is a time when children learn to behave as part of a "collectivity of individuals" who, according to Schlechty, "begin to function in ways that suggest the development of group life" (1976, p. 64).

Students learn two important principles which may be at odds with home learning as they learn to function as members of a collectivity: universalism and specificity, or "the right of others to treat [students] as members of categories often based on a few discrete characteristics rather than on the full constellation of them representing the whole individual" (Dreeban, 1968, p. 28).

Potential conflict between the norms operating at home and those at school is precisely why schooling practitioners need to analyze and

understand the implicit rules and demands inherent in the structure of schooling activities. The rules of discourse (i.e., how one interacts and communicates with others) at home and at school may be very different. Both Philips (1972) and Mehan (1979) found that when classroom instructional activity was organized to build upon knowledge of the home rules of discourse and sought to make the demands for student participation consonant with them, student achievement increased. Tikunoff (1983) illustrated how this principle operated in classrooms for limited English proficient students.

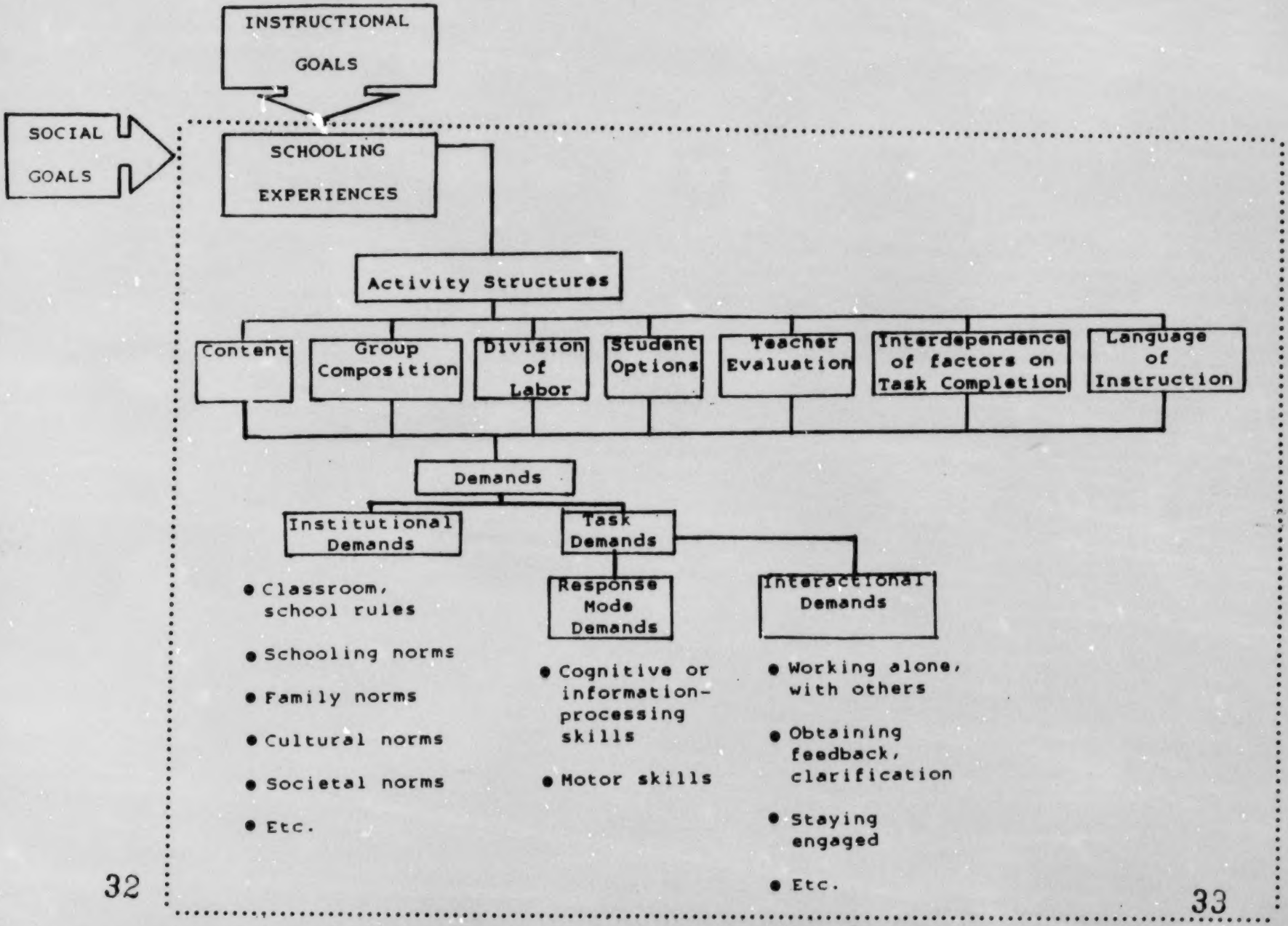
Analyzing the Structure of Schooling Activities

How can one analyze the structure of activities at a school to understand the rules that are in operation and what demands are being made on student participation? Conversely, how can one organize schooling activities that convey precisely the intended rules and demands upon student participation? These are the two tasks of structuring equitable schooling opportunities.

The structure of schooling experiences is depicted in Figure 2. Schooling experiences build from two kinds of goals--instructional goals and social goals. These can be equated with the two types of socialization which Bidwell (1972) claims are the aims of schools.

Instructional goals are those which delineate what academic learning is expected to result from participating in schooling activities. These usually are transmitted through behaviorally-stated learning objectives and form the basis for the curriculum. According to Bidwell, they include intellectual and motor skills, items of information (facts), and "systems of thought to organize them."

Figure 2. Structure of schooling experiences



Social goals, on the other hand, usually are unstated except in global terms such as "good citizenship," "cooperation" or "assuming responsibility for one's actions." They seek moral socialization, or as Bidwell suggested, learning the values and rules of conduct which lead to an understanding of the world as a "moral order."

Instructional and social goals inform the way in which schooling experiences are organized and structured, as activity structures. (Bossert, 1978) As conceptualized here, instructional activity may vary along several dimensions of activity structures: (1) work content, or the subject matter and related skills or knowledge to be applied and acquired, (2) composition of the work groups, (3) the amount and quality of division of labor among a group that is required in order to complete tasks, (4) student options available for task completion, like the order in which particular tasks may be completed, pacing of time among a variety of tasks, procedures or materials to be used, etc., (5) the nature of the teacher's evaluation of students during their involvement in schooling experiences, e.g., the publicness/privateness of evaluation, information sources used to arrive at evaluation, focus of evaluation (whether academic or behavioral), etc., (6) the interdependency of task completion and factors such as availability of materials, pace at which others work, teacher's instructions, etc., and (7) the language of instruction as it affects the outcome of participation in instructional activity.

Inherent in activity structures are two kinds of demands, institutional demands and task demands. To be perceived by the teacher as being competent participants, students must respond to demands appropriately. To not do so usually draws sanctions from the teacher and an assessment of a student as "uncooperative" or "slow in learning."

Institutional demands involve explicit and implicit rules, norms, and protocol within which a student is expected to function. When, as in the case of a white, middle-class child, school and family norms and expectations are very similar, institutional demands of the school are accommodated with little difficulty by the child. If, on the other hand, the school and family cultural norms and expectations are very different, a school's institutional demands may pose serious difficulty for a child, particularly if they are implicit and "hidden" from the child. Institutional demands are depicted in Figure 3 as classroom and school rules and schooling, family, cultural, and societal norms and expectations.

Task demands are of two types--response mode demands and interactional demands. Response mode demands are those that require a student to use both cognitive (information processing) skills, and motor (physical manipulation) skills. Interactional demands require specific person-to-person communication skills, such as working alone (or with others), obtaining feedback or clarification concerning tasks, staying engaged in appropriate activity, etc. These are the demands which require a student to learn the tasks of being a member of what Schlechty (1976) called a "collectivity of individuals."

Using this scheme of the structure of schooling experiences, one can analyze existing activity structures (1) to determine what institutional and task demands are being made on students, (2) to determine whether those demands are consistent with the instructional and social goals of the school, and (3) to plan activity structures which will create

intended institutional and task demands. Toward accomplishing this possibility, more in-depth information for the dimensions of activity structures and their inherent demands is provided.

Activity Structures and Their Inherent Demands

The term, "activity," frequently is used in curriculum and instruction to mean what it is that students do or to identify the various work components of a classroom. Such terms as "seat work," "reading groups," and "oral reports" come to mind when thinking about instructional activity from the curriculum perspective. However, from the perspective of sociologists, "activity" conveys a meaning which is both broader and more specific.

For sociologists, activity is tied to something people do as work, usually together. Breer & Locke (1965), in studying what people learned from work activity, suggested that working on any task causes a person to develop "certain beliefs, values, preferences specific to the task itself which over time are generalized to other areas of life" (p. 22).

In examining this social phenomenon, Dreeban first coined the term, "activity structure," to include the following properties (1968, p 44):

(1) Tasks, constraints, and opportunities available within social settings vary with the structural properties of those settings.
(2) Individuals who participate in those tasks, constraints, and opportunities derive principles of conduct (norms) based on their experiences in coping with them.
(3) The content of the principles varies with the setting.

Thus, it is the repetition of certain patterns of behavior, responding to demands embedded in tasks and rewarded by achievement and success, which generalize such patterns to other, similar task situations (Tikunoff & Ward, 1979).

According to Bossert (1978), the components of an activity structure include:

1. The modes of behavior which constitute the activity itself
2. The reward structure embodied in the activity
3. The sequencing of rewards or punishments in relation to behavior
4. The collective character of the activity; for example, number of people involved, internal division of labor, choice of behavioral options
5. the nature of social relations in an activity (pp. 11-12)

From these components, Tikunoff et al. (1980) proposed seven dimensions of activity structures which are useful for determining the demands being made upon students. The student population under study was multiethnolinguistic, making these particularly useful for analyzing equitable schooling opportunity. While the discussion here is at the individual classroom level, the principles can be extended to apply at the school level as well.

1. Content of the work. Labels for various types of work convey very different messages. "Football," for example, differs from "mowing the grass" in the expectations one might have in approaching these two tasks. One might be considered to be play, while the other is considered to be work.

So it is with school subjects. "Reading" conveys a different set of task expectations for students than "physical education" or "woodworking." Students know before class even begins what sorts of

institutional and task demands will be made upon them. Reading, for example, is a basic skill and therefore will require far more academic effort than woodworking, which requires more manual dexterity and a willingness to obey safety rules. Reading is serious business; woodworking is fun. Reading is work; so is woodworking, but at least one has something to show for it when finished.

Students quickly learn to distinguish when work content is more serious and when it is less serious. They adjust their behavior accordingly, primarily because they understand the institutional demands attendant to the various subjects offered in school. Over the years of schooling, these expectations are confirmed by the actual experience of participating in the instructional activity for each content area. The less successful one is at a given sort of task, the more likely it is to be perceived as hard to do, something at which one is less than successful, and, in short, work!

2. Group composition. Two critical questions are at stake in this dimension of activity structure. First, who gets to work in a group with whom, for what content or purpose, and how frequently or over what period of time? Second, how does how one is "grouped" serve to define who one is? In other words, do we label children when we place them into groups, and unintentionally communicate expectations about their ability to perform? And, by placing a child into a particular group, do we unintentionally limit the options that may otherwise be available? What are the messages communicated to students by how they are grouped, and how do the demands on their participation vary given the grouping procedure?

These are serious questions to ask of a schooling practice that has been in existence almost as long as schools themselves. The assignment of students to groups takes place at many levels in a school. First of all, students are assigned to classes. At the elementary school level, they may be assigned to a single teacher for the entire year. At the secondary level, however, they may be assigned to a minimum of six or seven teachers each semester. Within classes, teachers frequently group students for various activities. And even within student groups, students may group themselves into smaller work units.

Philosophies regarding grouping vary across schools and school districts, but they generally fall into two categories: those who advocate heterogeneous groups (mixed ability levels) and those who advocate homogeneous groups (similar ability level). Research on grouping has met with mixed reactions, probably along lines of these two philosophical opposites. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the results themselves in order to understand the implications of grouping in schools, particularly in terms of providing equitable schooling opportunity.

For example, Rist (1973) studied a group of Black kindergarten children, whose teacher also happened to be Black. By the eighth day of school in the Fall, the children had been placed into three learning groups. The teacher's grouping criteria were in themselves interesting. Those with older siblings who had attended the same school were more likely to be placed in the lower learning group. They were joined by children who were darker in color than the others, spoke a substandard

English, wore hand-me-down clothes, or smelled "unclean." In the first grade, the three groups remained intact and became the three reading groups: the Tigers (high-ability), the Cardinals (medium-ability), and the Clowns (low-ability). By the second grade when they were interviewed, students remained intact in the three groups with the exception of one boy who had been moved from the Tigers to the Cardinals because, as the teacher explained, "Tigers are neat, and he's not." Rist interviewed the children, and found that Clowns could tell him what pleased the teacher ("Tigers are the teacher's favorites") and what displeased the teacher ("Anything the Clowns do!").

This example is worth dwelling upon precisely because it provides dramatic evidence of grouping practices that unintentionally set into motion the so-called self-fulfilling prophecy: The belief about one's self based on others' perceptions across time, causing one to behave according to what one believes are the expectations of others (Merton, 1957). As Brophy (1982) observed, "Differential teacher treatment of students, based on inaccurate perceptions and expectations may impact student self-perceptions and achievement".

Other researchers provide additional evidence. Bossert (1979), for example, found that who belonged to which groups in the classroom extended among young children to who played with whom on the playground and in their neighborhoods. Those in low-ability groups seldom interacted in play with those in high-ability groups.

Good (1982) found that students in low-ability reading groups in the early grades received very little challenge, thus perceiving themselves to be unable to read. In addition, a long-range result of interacting

most frequently with only other students of low-ability in such groups was an inability to respond to the demands of more complex activity structures. Ironically, Good pointed out that the very strategy used to presumably help low-ability youngsters with their reading problems--pull-out programs in which teachers worked with small groups of these students outside the regular classroom--exacerbated the problem. Demands in the special reading groups were very different from those in the regular classroom and at a much lower level of complexity, so low-ability students were not learning to respond to high level demands that would help them participate competently in their regular classrooms.

The impact of grouping practices in secondary schools, in particular, how students get assigned to separate curriculum tracks, further limits the options available to them later as adults preparing for the working force. Kirst (1983) and his colleagues have been investigating tracking procedures at several high schools. They found great variation in the standards applied and decisions made about students' course sequences. Generally, students placed in lower tracks had fewer challenges and fewer course options. Those schools with high involvement of parents and students in making tracking decisions, however, made for more positive learning situations.

Alexander et al. (1978) found that students in low-ability tracks received markedly different and less explicit, less challenging forms of instruction in their classes when compared with the classes of higher ability students. Confrey & Good (in progress), studying seventh-grade English and mathematics classes, found that low-ability students received instruction that was fragmented in terms of content, often mystifying to the students, repetitious in terms of skills covered, and containing low quantities of theory, so that students seldom were exposed to more

powerful or integrating mathematics concepts. Lanier et al. (1981) confirmed the emphasis on repetitious drill in low-ability classes when compared to high-ability algebra classes. In addition, they found that teachers explained the purpose of what they were learning to low-ability students far less often than to high-ability students. In multicultural situations, there is some evidence to indicate that minority students are disproportionately represented in the lower-ability tracks. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

Information from these and other studies suggests that many questions need to be addressed to grouping practices in schools. Particularly when the objective is to provide equitable schooling opportunity for all students, it would appear that grouping practices might result instead in the very inequities schooling practitioners are trying to resolve.

3. Division of labor. An enduring argument among schooling practitioners is the degree to which schools promote independence among students rather than collaboration.

When a schooling experience demands that students work independently, the properties of competition are more likely to be in operation. On the other hand, when a schooling experience demands that students work with each other in order to accomplish tasks, the properties of collaboration are more likely to be in operation. The difference in the demands of a competitive activity structure and a collaborative one is the degree to which an individual piece of labor must be divided among several persons for the purpose of its completion. Hence, this dimension of activity structure is referred to as division of labor.

The two structures produce very different behavior. Sayles (1958) found that "The internal structuring or work operations . . . affects significantly the behavior characteristics of a group. That is, the relations between members prescribed by the flow of work processes are a critical variable shaping the internal social systems of a group" (p. 42). According to Bossert (1979), "These variables account for differences in group cohesion, interdependence [or independence] among members, and the propensity of group action" (p. 5).

If one is to participate successfully as an adult in society, one must learn (1) the conditions under which independent behavior or collaborative behavior are required and (2) to respond appropriately. The question that schooling practitioners must address in relation to this dimension of activity structure is, "When are students involved in schooling experiences that will teach them independence, and when are they involved in schooling experiences that will teach them collaboration?"

An examination of the extent to which division of labor is required in schools reveals a perplexing situation. On the one hand, a frequent goal of schools is producing students capable of both independent and collaborative behavior. Yet, due to the way schooling experiences are organized, it is likely that students will learn only independent behavior.

For example, textbooks are issued to each student, who is independently responsible for covering the material assigned. Students are given individual worksheets and desk assignments, take tests and examinations individually, and receive rewards (grades) or punishment (sanctions) individually. If one were promoting collaborative behavior instead, the demands would be very different. Worksheets and other

assignments would be designed such that labor was divided in completing tasks. Each student would be responsible for only a portion of a reading assignment and would be required to teach the others the contents of that portion. Groups would be formed to learn a particular concept or to develop an area of expertise which they would then be responsible for teaching to all others in a class. Measurement of accomplishment would be on group success, rather than on individual performance, and rewards (or sanctions) likewise would be based on group performance.

This example is presented for illustrative purposes only. Obviously, economy of effort must be taken into consideration when designing schooling experiences, and there are many areas of learning which require independent effort. Granted that this is the case, the question for schooling practitioners then becomes, "When and how do schooling experiences create demands to which students can only respond with behavior that will eventually teach them the skills of collaboration?"

Perhaps as important is a second question, "Are some students more likely to learn under conditions which promote collaborative behavior rather than under conditions which promote independent behavior?" A frequent observation of researchers is that the rules of discourse in some cultures require or allow collaboration in learning tasks, particularly among siblings. The Hispanic students in Tikunoff (1983) and his colleagues' study worked in pairs as a natural activity in their classrooms, helping each other with assigned tasks. Slavin (1980) and his colleagues have been interested in this process, and have in fact designed curriculum with demands that require students to collaborate in order to complete tasks. Schooling practitioners must routinely teach the skills of both independence and collaboration.

It is not a matter of either independence or collaboration. Students should be required to respond to demands which will teach them the skills of both. Opportunity for development of both skills must be included daily throughout the entire schooling experience, since learning skills such as these require frequent repetition. Ultimately, if only the skills of one or the other--independence or collaboration--are taught, equitable schooling opportunity is not being provided.

4. Student choice options. A frequently stated public expectation is that students will develop a sense of responsibility. Generally, this is interpreted to mean that, as a result of their schooling experiences, students will know how to choose from among options, including what the consequences of their choices might be. They will accept tasks which have been assigned to them, and will feel a sense of duty to see that they are completed. At the optimum, they will be inner-motivated, often achieving accomplishment beyond required work or the expectations of others.

As with other dimensions of activity structure, one must ask, "What are the demands in schooling experiences which require that students respond with behavior characteristic of assuming responsibility for one's own learning?" Basic to responsible behavior is the ability to make decisions. Yet, an examination of the typical schooling experience suggests that students more frequently are expected to respond to prescribed directions rather than to make decisions on their own.

One way to demand that students accept the responsibility for choices they make is to provide them with options from which to choose. Within schooling experiences, student options can be structured into activities in at least seven ways. These build from the work of Bossert (1979) and Tikunoff et al. (1980). They include:

- Order: In what order will prescribed tasks be completed? Possibilities range from prescription by the teacher of a sequence in which tasks must be completed (no options), to complete freedom by the student over the order in which tasks may be completed (many options).

- Pacing: How much time optimally must be devoted to complete a task successfully and with high accuracy? In some situations, pacing may need to be completely under control of the teacher; no student may move to the next task until given intructions to do so. In other situations, however, pacing might be negotiable, particularly if several tasks are under way concurrently. In this case, an understanding must exist of the optimal time one can spend on a task and the time by when it is expected to be completed. Many teachers increase options in this area by negotiating with students contracts which include, among other things, the time in which a task will be accomplished.

- Products: Does everyone have to produce the same product, or is there some latitude for choice among several possibilities? Frequently, the product is expected to be the same for all students (e.g., knowing the multiplication tables). This is particularly true for instruction in the basic skills. In many other areas of the curriculum, however, products may range from book reports to lengthy term papers. Giving the instructional objective and requiring that students select, from a range of choices, a product that will demonstrate that the objectives have been met, offers an unusual challenge for students. In addition, options for product selection provide students with experience in producing a variety of products.

- Strategies: Are there multiple learning strategies that will achieve the same instructional outcome? If so, offering students opportunities to select from among them fosters responsibility while increasing the likelihood that instructional objectives will be achieved. Students are more likely to use learning strategies that are more consonant with their own learning styles. Strategies can range from working independently, to working in pairs, to working in groups of three or more. They can also include how to accomplish a task, what procedures to use, whom to draw upon as resources (or whom to tutor in an area one knows well), and so forth.

Frequently allusions are made among schooling practitioners to the differences in learning styles that may exist among students from different home cultures. Offering multiple learning strategies for achieving the same instructional outcomes might accommodate many of these differences.

- Public participation: Does everyone have to participate in all instructional activity, and if so, is participation expected to be public? Public participation in recitation is a frequent activity in classrooms. Reading circles, or reading aloud; reciting the times tables, or responding to the teacher's math problems, either at the seat or at the chalkboard; giving oral reports; pronouncing or spelling words; answering the teacher's questions; these are but a few examples of such instructional activities common to classroom learning. They contain two demands with potential for conflict for students from minority home cultures: (1) they require that students perform individually in public and (2) they require that students reveal the extent of their knowledge about a subject.

  These two seemingly innocuous demands may present problems for students from some minority cultures. In many Native American cultures, for example, the individual is never singled out in public for any reason, so teachers use recitation strategies such as whole-group recitation, where everyone reads aloud at once or calls out an answer as a group (Goodman et al., 1981). And, it sometimes is considered rude to "show-off" one's knowledge in other cultures. Cultural norms such as these should be considered when designing activities.

- Materials: Is a single textbook the sole source of information, or are many sources and materials available? Are students given options as to which materials they will use as an information source? Multiple sources of information allow teachers to provide for the varying learning capabilities, personal interests, and other strengths of the students in a given class. Similarly, the availability of a wide range of materials increases the experiential options for students. A frequent criticism of schools perceived to be less effective is the limited availability of materials. Inasmuch as school district budgets are impacted by purchases of instructional materials, a decision to commit funds must build from sound rationale for their need.

- Language: Is it policy that only English is used for instruction, or may a student's native language be used (particularly if a teacher is fortunate to possess that language as a resource)? This issue relates not only to instructional settings which are officially bilingual education classes, but to those wherein another student may be bilingual but the teacher is not. If students do not understand English terminology, they cannot be expected to participate competently in instructional activities. Often, the availability of a second language accomplishes the immediate necessity of translation, which in turn allows a student to continue with a task. Tikunoff (1983) found that the ability of a teacher to provide this translation function contributed to developing a student's English proficiency as well.

5. Mode of teacher evaluation. What is the purpose of evaluation in a classroom? Is it accomplished publicly or privately? What is the focus of evaluation, and who receives the teacher's evaluative comments? These are questions which examine the core of a major classroom activity.

Evaluation is an ever-present feature of classroom life. Jackson (1968) illustrated its importance to a student:

> Every child experiences the pain of failure and the joy of success long before he reaches school age, but his achievements, or lack of them, do not really become official until he enters the classroom. From then on, however, a semi-public record of his progress gradually accumulates, and as a student he must learn to adapt to the continued and pervasive spirit of evaluation that will dominate his school years. (p. 19)

Dreeban (1968) suggested that universalism and specificity were two principles that children learn as a function of schooling, and Bidwell (1972) identified moral socialization as one important outcome of schooling. All three outcomes result from the process of students defining themselves by accumulating information about how they are perceived by others.

A major source of this information is the teacher, who constantly interacts with students, monitoring their work and providing feedback. It is the student, however, who determines the consequences of feedback. Students perceive feedback to be either positive or negative, evaluating their performance in the classroom. As a general operating principle, academic feedback which seeks to achieve accuracy is perceived as helpful, while feedback regarding one's behavior is usually perceived as being critical about who we are rather than about what we are attempting to accomplish.

It is important that the teacher perceive the student as a competent participant in the educational process. This is because the teacher's perceptions of the student's competence will color the feedback, both verbal and nonverbal, given to the student.

Teachers are in a vulnerable position with respect to evaluation. Order must be maintained in a classroom or instruction cannot take place. Yet to obtain order, teachers frequently must sanction students to get them back on-task. Effective teachers manage classroom instructional activities such that behavioral disruptions are minimal and easily resolved. Those who are less effective in managing their classes may obtain unintended consequences from their evaluation methods.

There are five aspects of classroom evaluation which operate structurally, according to the works of Jackson (1968), Dahllof (1971), and Bossert (1979). How these are manifested becomes critical to successfully obtaining equitable schooling opportunity. They include:

- The publicness of evaluation: Is evaluative information for an individual student presented so that everyone in class can hear? Or is it private, either in written form, conducted in a private place, or whispered so that only the target student can hear it?

- The focus of evaluation: What is being evaluated: academic work, student participation in instructional activity, or students' personal characteristics? (And, one can add, how do we know which of these is perceived by a student to be the focus of evaluation?)

- The recipient of evaluation: Who is being evaluated: an individual student, a group of students, or the entire class?

- The quality of evaluation: Is emphasis on positive or negative aspects? Is evaluation comparable or noncomparable (to others, or to some other standard)?

- The language of evaluation: In bilingual instructional settings, which language is used for evaluative statements--English or a student's native language? Which language is used most frequently for praise, and which for sanctions?

Evaluation in the form of public statements made by the teacher or other supervising adult is an important issue in obtaining equitable schooling opportunity. What information we have suggests that teachers more frequently give feedback concerning student deportment to low-achievers and feedback concerning academic progress to high-achievers (Blumenfeld et al., 1979; Good, 1983). In multicultural settings, some research suggests that students of minority cultures receive behavioral sanctions more frequently than those of majority cultures (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975). Given this evidence, schooling practitioners would be wise to investigate their evaluation practices and to strive for equity in their use.

6. Interdependency of factors on work completion. Do any of the dimensions of activity structures presented so far determine whether or not a student can work independently? Frequently, conditions require that students are dependent upon others (or others are dependent upon them) (a) to perform certain aspects of a task, (b) to finish using materials, or (c) to wait for further information from the teacher. In addition, independence can be curtailed by work content, group composition, and the amount of collaboration required. Interdependency of factors is an important consideration in designing schooling experiences since one can inadvertently cancel one demand with another, or cause demands to be in conflict, by the way in which one constructs task completion requirements. For assuring equitable schooling opportunity, one needs to be certain that the interdependent nature of these demands is understood.

7. Language of instruction. The final dimension of activity structure is important primarily to teachers involved in bilingual education programs. In a bilingual instructional setting, the language

used by the instructor is an important structural feature. Numerous messages regarding acceptable forms of communication and a student's status within the class are projected by the language used for instruction. Alternation between English and a student's native language also conveys messages about how that student may function in the class, as well as whether or not it is acceptable to use one language instead of the other. In addition, teachers need to take care that use of one language or the other in the variety of situations suggested by the activity structure does not convey negative evaluation.

The seven dimensions of activity structure presented here are intended to serve as tools of analysis for determining whether or not the demands inherent in the organization of schooling experiences are appropriate. It also should be possible to use this information to construct schooling experiences which contain the demands required for obtaining equitable schooling opportunity for all students.

The examples used were directed toward instruction in the classroom. Many of a student's experiences, however, occur between classes, in the halls and on the playgrounds of a school. The same elements of activity structure should provide information about the demands being potentially required of students in out-of-class activities. The study of the impact of these experiences upon students in terms of effectiveness is only beginning. Until we have better information, these dimensions of activity structure provide a start.

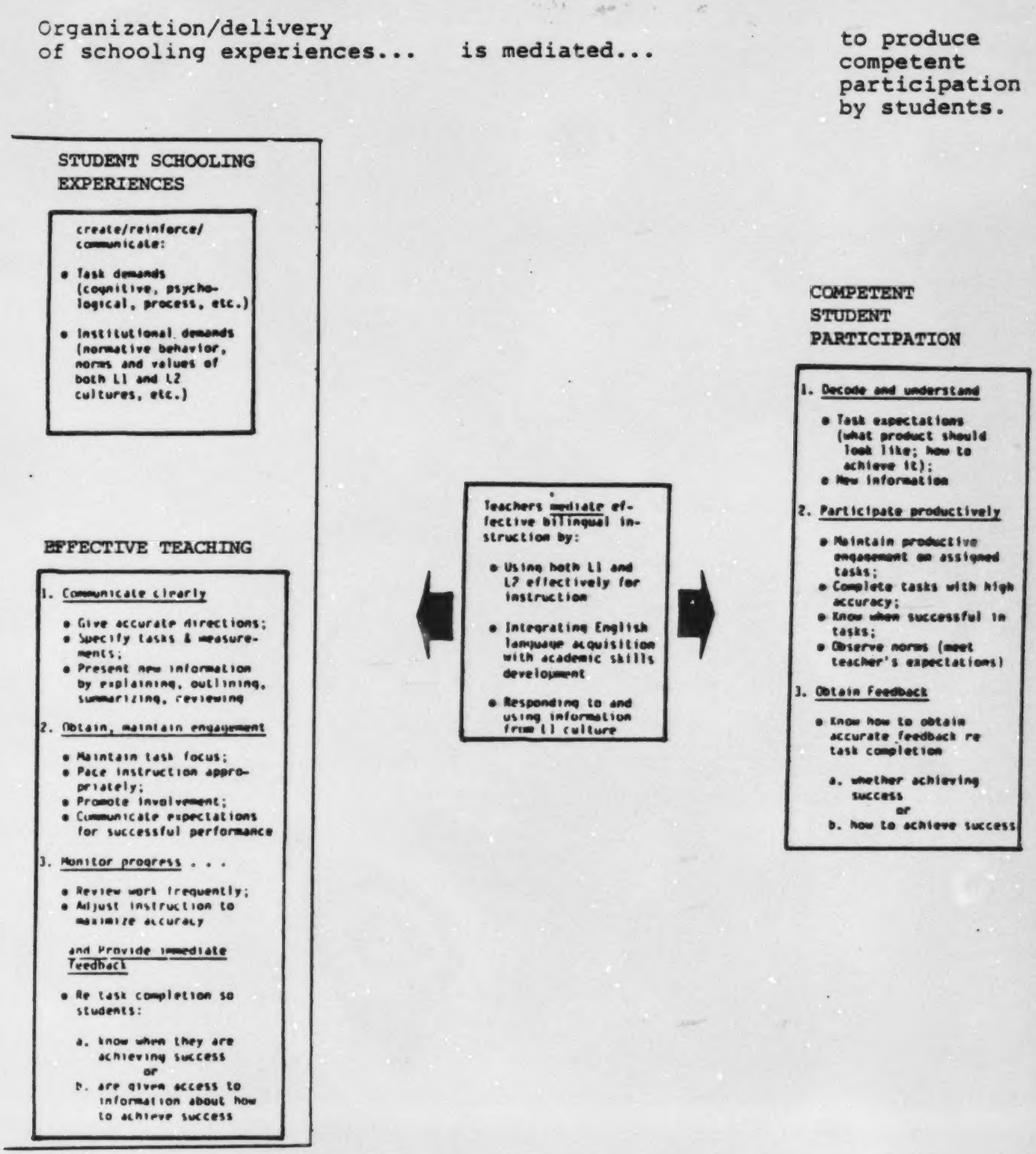
Mediation of Instruction

So far in this discussion, the dimensions of equitable schooling opportunity--equality of effectiveness and equality of structure--can apply generally to any school setting to determine if minimum requirements have been established to ensure equal access to schooling experiences by all students. When schools contain among their population large numbers of students from a variety of ethnolinguistic and cultural backgrounds, however, consideration must be given to adjusting the organization and delivery of instructional experiences.

Effective teachers accomplish this by differentiating instruction to accommodate the varying needs and learning characteristics of their students. Both their own instructional behavior and the structure of instructional activity are altered in order to accommodate their students' particular learning characteristics and needs, personal or cultural characteristics, and linguistic characteristics. In essence, they have mediated between effective instructional principles and their students' particular characteristics in order to obtain competent participation in instructional activity and similar instructional consequences for all their students.

Mediation of instruction is a particularly important instructional strategy when classrooms are comprised of students from varying cultural or ethnolinguistic backgrounds. A recent study, the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) descriptive study (Tikunoff, 1983), showed how this was accomplished for the effective instruction of limited English proficient (LEP) students (see Figure 3). Because their students had as their native language (L1) a language other than

Figure 3. How instruction is mediated to produce competent participation


Organization/delivery of schooling experiences...
is mediated...
to produce competent participation by students.
STUDENT SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES
create/reinforce/ communicate:
• Task demands (cognitive, psychological, process, etc.)
• Institutional demands (normative behavior, norms and values of both L1 and L2 cultures, etc.)
EFFECTIVE TEACHING
1. Communicate clearly
• Give accurate directions;
• Specify tasks & measurements;
• Present new information by explaining, outlining, summarizing, reviewing
2. Obtain, maintain engagement
• Maintain task focus;
• Pace instruction appropriately;
• Promote involvement;
• Communicate expectations for successful performance
3. Monitor progress . . .
• Review work frequently;
• Adjust instruction to maximize accuracy
and Provide immediate Feedback
• Re task completion so students:
a. know when they are achieving success
or
b. are given access to information about how to achieve success
Teachers mediate effective bilingual instruction by:
• Using both L1 and L2 effectively for instruction
• Integrating English language acquisition with academic skills development
• Responding to and using information from L1 culture
COMPETENT STUDENT PARTICIPATION
1. Decode and understand
• Task expectations (what product should look like; how to achieve it);
• New information
2. Participate productively
• Maintain productive engagement on assigned tasks;
• Complete tasks with high accuracy;
• Know when successful in tasks;
• Observe norms (meet teacher's expectations)
3. Obtain Feedback
• Know how to obtain accurate feedback re task completion
a. whether achieving success
or
b. how to achieve success

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than English, their second language (L2), the 58 teachers in this sample mediated both the organization (structure) and delivery (effective instruction, or active teaching) components of equitable schooling experiences in the following ways. [6]

Use of Two Languages to Mediate Effective Instruction

The language of classroom instruction is a special language. For students, it requires understanding not only new concepts and new information, but also knowing the rituals of classroom life and how to participate competently in instructional activity. Competent student participation in instructional activity requires decoding and understanding task demands and expectations and obtaining feedback regarding accuracy in tasks and how to achieve it. When the primary mode for instruction is English, LEP students are at a decided disadvantage. In a sense, they are denied access to instruction unless some provision is made to ensure that they understand what is required.

One way that teachers in the SBIF descriptive study mediated effective instruction in order to ensure that LEP students had access to instruction was by using L1 some of the time for some of the students. Although it varied across sites and across grade levels, English was used for instruction approximately 60 percent of the time, and L1 (or a combination of L1 and L2), approximately 35 percent. In addition, teachers alternated languages relatively frequently when the situation required it in order to achieve understanding, usually for "instructional development" (50 percent of the time) and "procedures/directions" (about 33 percent of the time). Thus, when it was apparent that a LEP student (or a group of them) was not understanding instruction in English, teachers used L1 to achieve clarity. [7]

Integration of English-Language Development with Basic Skills Instruction

Instructional language is used to specify, describe, and communicate tasks to be accomplished, what the product is to look like, how to achieve the product, and so forth. Students learn the language of instruction by using it in classroom instructional tasks. Thus, if one intended outcome of bilingual instruction is to develop LEP students' English-language proficiency so that they can ultimately function competently in monolingual-English instructional settings, then such proficiency is best developed through participating in instructional activity.

Such an approach to developing English-language acquisition was utilized by the teachers in the SBIF descriptive study. Even though students received formal instruction in English-language skill development, such as English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) instruction (either in the regular class or on a pull-out basis), these teachers also integrated English-language development with regular instruction. For example, when these teachers found it necessary to alternate between English and L1 to achieve understanding of a concept, they interrupted instruction in order to drill briefly on the new English terminology. Later, they would practice English terminology, apparently to reinforce English-language development.

Utilization of L1 Cultural Information During Instruction

Teachers frequently made use of their understanding of their students' home cultures to promote engagement in instructional tasks. This was the third important way in which effective instruction was mediated. Teachers' uses of cultural information took linguistic as well

as nonverbal forms in three ways: (1) by responding to or using L1 cultural referents to enhance instruction, (2) by organizing instructional activities to build upon ways in which their students naturally participate in discourse in their own home cultures, and (3) by recognizing and honoring the values and norms of their students' home cultures while teaching those of the majority culture.

Responding to, using L1 cultural referents. Frequently, during instruction teachers used information from their students' home cultures to mediate effective instruction. These "cultural referents" took both verbal and nonverbal forms to communicate instructional and institutional demands. Teachers both initiated such behavior and responded to it when it was initiated by a student. An example is given in the following:

> Following a severe reprimand during which a teacher described her behavior as "grasping the boy's arm," the teacher said, gently, "Now, mijito, you know better than that." When asked to explain the possible meaning of this action on her part, the teacher stated that this term of endearment "took the sting out of the sanction," thereby saving face for the boy in front of his peers.

This example was in a class in which the students' native language (L1) was Spanish. The term, "mijito," is derived from "hijo" (son) with the diminutive, "-ito," added. The result, "mijito," roughly translates into "little son." Among Hispanics, the term conveys fondness and belongingness. Female teachers at the Hispanic sites frequently were observed to assume a maternal authority role in their classes, speaking to their students as they would to their own children. This was particularly true in the classrooms of younger students, who responded positively. Many examples of the use of L1 cultural referents were found in the study.

Organizing instruction to build upon rules of discourse from the L1 culture. A child who is a member of a family of a minority culture has learned rules of discourse that may be different from those of the school. Children learn the rules of discourse of their home culture through constant interaction with others in their environment. This results in the learning behaviors appropriate to various cultural contexts.

The rules of classroom discourse in most U.S. schools reflect those of the majority culture. They are communicated in the task and institutional demands which underlie classroom instruction. The fact that they frequently differ from some students' cultural rules of discourse can deter these students from participating competently in instruction until the classroom rules of discourse are understood and mastered by these students. Researchers have found that when the school environment accommodates the rules of discourse from the L1 culture, learning is more likely to occur naturally (Philips, 1972; Mehan, 1979).

Teachers in the SBIF descriptive study mediated classroom rules of discourse for their students by observing and integrating the rules of discourse from the L1 culture into the way in which instructional activities were organized and by how LEP students were encouraged to participate in them. For example, in Hispanic cultures, older children are assigned the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings. This fosters cooperation as a mode of accomplishing home tasks. In classes where Spanish was L1, teachers utilized this information by organizing their instruction so that students were frequently required to work cooperatively with other students. Students were allowed to talk with each other as they worked and to help each other with task

completion. Another example of using this mediational strategy was observed in the Navajo classes. Navajo teachers did not assign boys and girls from the same tribal clan to the same reading groups since this would be a violation of Navajo cultural norms.

Many such examples of observing and incorporating L1 cultural rules of discourse into instruction were found. As might be expected, these varied from one ethnolinguistic group to another.

Observing values and norms of the L1 culture. In that classroom rules of discourse in U.S. schools are based on those of the majority culture, it follows that the rules and norms which underlie these, and which are inherent in a school's task and institutional demands, are those of the majority culture as well. Thus, students from minority cultures frequently are confronted with the need to respond to classroom instructional demands which convey values and norms that may be in conflict with those of the home culture.

Teachers in the SBIF descriptive study were concerned that their students understood and learned to observe the values and norms required to eventually participate competently in monolingual-English instructional settings. At the same time, however, they were also concerned that their students not perceive that, when the values and norms of the majority culture are in conflict with those of the home culture, a priority of "rightness" might result by inference.

This principle is depicted in the following event from a class in which L1 was Cantonese. The teacher used a value from the L1 culture, embarrassment from losing face, as a cultural referent to shape students' behavior as they prepared for a public performance. She told her class they had to make a positive presentation of their behavior. "If

parents see you laugh on stage, you will lose face," she admonished. "That's disastrous!" When students continued to act up, she added, "If you're laughed at, [then] I'll lose face!"

In these three ways, successful bilingual teachers in the SBIF descriptive study mediated instruction by utilizing information from the L1 culture. For the instruction of students of varying cultural ethnolinguistic backgrounds, similar strategies of mediating instruction would appear to be important to ensure that equitable schooling opportunity is provided. For example, Hawley (1982) and his colleagues presented a review of effective mediational strategies for the instruction of what he labeled "children at risk."

Student Access to Equitable Schooling Opportunity

So far, a description has been presented of two major components of equitable schooling opportunity: effectiveness and structure. When these two components are present at a given school, schooling experiences which foster equity are in place. With the addition of mediation of instruction, students should then respond appropriately to the demands of the resultant schooling experiences. If so, they will be perceived by teachers and other supervising adults as participating competently.

How can we know when students are participating competently, i.e., responding appropriately to task and institutional demands? Two types of measures can be utilized by schooling practitioners to determine if the instructional and social goals behind schooling experiences are being accomplished: observational (or behavioral) measures and formal achievement testing. Both are important because each produces a different kind of data.

It is common procedure for schools to administer tests of academic achievement to determine whether instructional goals are being accomplished. Usually, these are administered at the beginning and at the end of a school year. This makes sense, since achievement tests are not designed to measure short-range achievement. Criterion-referenced tests, however, can determine shorter-term gains; observational measures can be used to determine achievement which is even more approximate to ongoing instruction. In addition, documentation provides further evidence of achievement, particularly with relation to attaining social goals, such as, increasing school attendance or decreasing incidents of violence and vandalism.

Schooling practitioners are familiar with formal tests of academic achievement, as well as with the arguments surrounding their shortcomings. Thus, it won't be necessary to repeat this information in this paper. However, one caveat needs to be stated: instructional goals and social goals are designed to produce different outcomes and cannot be measured by the same instrument or observation procedure. Too frequently, evaluations of school innovations have attempted to establish the attainmert of social goals (the integration of majority and minority races in schools) with student performance on academic achievement tests. Instead, outcome measures should provide information directly related to the goals whose attainment is being evaluated. Instructional outcomes relate to instructional, not social, goals.

The remainder of the discussion in this paper concerns determining when students have gained access to schooling experiences. The discussion focuses on two kinds of behavioral evidence: the characteristics of competent student participation and student participation styles. Both are behavioral and can be observed.

Competent Student Participation

Classes are organized to create task and institutional demands to which students must respond if they are to be perceived by the teacher to be competent (Bossert, 1979). As we have seen, demands are inherent in the activity structures that serve to organize instruction and to convey student performance requirements as well as social messages.

To be perceived as a competent participant, a student must perform three major functions: (1) decode and understand both task expectations and new information, (2) engage appropriately in task completion and do so with high accuracy, and (3) obtain accurate feedback with relation to successful task completion. Each function is discussed separately.

Comprehending expectations, information. To be perceived by the teacher as participating competently in instructional activity, a student must be able to understand (1) task expectations, (2) the teacher's requirements for appropriate behavior, and (3) new information necessary to complete tasks. Included in this understanding is information about what the intended product should look like when it is completed and information about how to accomplish this.

Since English language is the medium of instruction in most U.S. classrooms, a student must be proficient in English in order to have access to instruction. Thus, limited English proficient (LEP) students are at a decided disadvantage. Teachers who can utilize a student's native language for instructional purposes facilitate developing understanding of tasks to be accomplished and how they may be accomplished appropriately. In classes where teachers do not have a second language as a resource, other provisions for translating task expectations and other pertinent information must be provided if the LEP

students are to have equal access to instruction (e.g., another student who is bilingual or a bilingual teacher or student aide).

Participating productively. Communication makes it possible to understand a teacher's expectations with regard to tasks and normative behavior. Though new information necessary to complete tasks may be made available, it is up to a student to put all of this into operation. This means maintaining productive engagement on tasks and completing them with a high degree of accuracy.

Much has been written about the importance of student engagement in completing tasks: the more time spent on a task, the more chance that learning will result. Much of the research on time-on-task has focused on engagement only. An even more important facet of engagement, however, is the accuracy with which a student completes tasks. Fisher et al. (1978) were able to show that high engagement with high accuracy in completing classroom instructional tasks, correlates positively with tests of academic achievement in reading and mathematics, at least at the elementary school level. [8] As a proximal outcome measure, this provides more accurate feedback concerning the effectiveness of ongoing instruction than do achievement tests. The task for teachers is to adjust instruction (in particular, assignments and materials) for individual students so that work is at just the right ability and conceptual level.

Obtaining feedback. Pivotal to competent participation in instructional activity is the ability to obtain feedback. This must be with relation to (a) whether or not one is achieving success in completing a task or (b) how to achieve success in doing it. This requires that students know the language of instruction, but it also

requires that students know how to obtain feedback, either from the teacher or from someone else in the class who possesses the appropriate information. To do so, a student must work within the established rules of interaction for a given classroom.

Obviously, a student who exhibits these three components of student participation is going to do well. How is it, then, that some teachers are able to illicit this student behavior, while others apparently cannot? At least part of the answer lies in the use of active teaching behaviors on the part of the teacher.

Figure 4 illustrates the relationship of competent student participation with what an effective teacher does to produce this behavior. For example, if students are expected to decode and understand what is going on, then teachers must communicate clearly. This means giving accurate directions, specifying tasks and how to know they have been completed successfully (measurement), and presenting new information in an orderly, clear manner. In addition, effective teachers actively work at engaging students in tasks and communicate their expectations that students can complete them successfully. During instruction, they monitor students' work and provide immediate feedback with relation to task completion. Feedback focuses on (a) letting students know if they are achieving accuracy in task completion or (b) if not, how to achieve it.

The immediacy of providing feedback about task completion during instruction cannot be emphasized strongly enough. Effective teachers intuit which students are going to need active monitoring and will require immediate feedback, and they make certain that these students are constant recipients of their attention. Some students need this feedback

Figure 4. RELATIONSHIP OF COMPETENT STUDENT PARTICIPATION TO ACTIVE TEACHING

SO THAT STUDENTS CAN:	TEACHERS MUST:
1. Decode, understand	1. Communicate clearly
• Task expectations (what product should look like; how to)	• Give accurate directions
• New information	• Specify tasks and measurements
	• Present new information by explaining, outlining, summarizing, reviewing
2. Participate productively	2. Obtain, maintain engagement
• Maintain productive engagement on assigned tasks and complete them	• Maintain task focus
• Complete tasks with high accuracy	• Pace instruction appropriately
• Know when successful in tasks	• Promote involvement
• Observe norms (meet teacher's expectations)	• Communicate expectations for successful performance
3. Obtain feedback	3. Monitor progress...
• Know how to obtain accurate feedback regarding task completion, i.e.,	• Review work frequently
a. Whether achieving success or	• Adjust instruction to maximize accuracy
b. How to achieve success	4. ...provide immediate feedback
	• Regarding task completion so students:
	a. Know when they are successful or
	b. Are given information about how to achieve success

(they are discussed in the following as "dependent" learners), and with it, they have a better chance of learning the lesson content. Without effective feedback, however, they are doomed to failure in academic tasks (Ward et al., 1981).

These three facets of competent student participation are behavioral indicators that a student understands the demands of a given instructional activity and is working toward meeting them. In addition, students tend to establish different patterns of behavior while participating in classroom instructional activity. This topic is taken up next.

Student Participation Characteristics

School is a social setting. Thus, in addition to the usual demands inherent in activity structures to which they must respond in ways previously described, students must learn to communicate appropriately with other students and with the teacher.

Recent research has investigated ways in which students characteristically behave while participating in instructional activity. Six patterns have been reported by Ward (1982), building from previous studies (Tikunoff et al., 1981; Ward et al., 1981). These are:

1. Success/multitask. Success/multitask students are almost always involved in some form of work, carry out several tasks concurrently and well, give correct and complete answers when called upon though seldom volunteer to answer questions, seldom need teacher's help but ask for it if necessary, and seldom interrupt work to talk with other students. Students who participate in this manner can be observed listening to the teacher explain a day's lesson and, at the same time, completing the assigned worksheet. Success/multitask students may read a book while filling in worksheets and participating in class discussion. Still, these students will perform well on the worksheets and, when called upon by the teacher, answer the questions correctly.

2. Social. Social students mix brief periods of concentration on assigned tasks with high involvement in conversations, only some of which are academic. These students like to work with other students and often voluntarily serve as peer teachers. Social students volunteer answers to the teacher's questions. In fact, these students often appear to be more interested in answering, per se, than in giving correct answers.

3. Dependent. Dependent students require frequent attention, feedback, explanation, or other assistance from the teacher or other students in order to stay on task. These students may remember directions for only one step of a task at a time and may need additional steps re-explained in order to proceed successfully. They respond to a series of simple questions better than to a single, complex question. They attend to the teacher's instructions when in small groups where the teacher can monitor their progress, but in total-class settings often are inattentive.

   Some dependent students may not require such academic assistance, but they will not proceed with a task unless given frequent reinforcement and approval. Such students frequently bring completed work to show the teacher for a "good," "OK," or "keep going" response. Others wait for a response, doing no academic work in the meantime. If feedback is not received, dependent students typically cease working on assigned tasks.

4. Phantom. In contrast to other participation categories, phantom students are characterized more by what they do not do than by what they do. Students in this category almost never initiate conversations, ask for assistance, or volunteer answers to questions. Although these students may appear to be involved in classroom activities--watching, listening, voicing quiet response--they do not participate in verbally or visibly obvious ways in either total-class or small-group instructional activities. Phantom students create no problems and make no demands on the teacher. In turn, the teacher seldom initiates interaction with these students for academic reinforcement, behavior control, or social purposes.

5. Isolate. Isolate students are similar to a phantom students in that they seldom interact with others. However, isolates are further characterized by: sporadic engagement in tasks interspersed with gazing about or quiet play; separation from other students either by the isolates themselves or by [other] students who refuse to associate with them; and reluctance to have others see or react to their work.

6. Alienate. Alienate students stress antischool, antilearning, and antisocial behavior. Students who exhibit these participation characteristics work against productive

> involvement in school. They often appear to purposefully create confrontations with other students and the teacher and to latantly engage in off-task activities. Teachers identify these students as a discipline problem, voice concern about their future success in school, and seek strategies that might change their mode of participation (Ward, 1982, pp. 365-66).

Two things are noteworthy about student participation characteristics for planning schooling experiences. First, of the six participant characteristics, three are important with relation to competent participation in instructional activity.

Neither the isolate nor the alienate student learn well what is intended. In addition, they are frequently the source of disruption in the classroom. This is particularly true of the alienate. Sufficient numbers of either of these two types of students in a class will cause the pace of instruction to slow down because teachers have to handle disruptive behavior. In addition, the engagement and accuracy rates of other students may suffer in the meantime. Brophy (1983) recommended that alienate students be removed from the classroom and be engaged in group therapy programs which can help them develop more pro-social behavior. Most of the programs he advocated can be administered easily by the principal or a school counselor. His point is that, particularly at the beginning of the school year, teachers should be concerned with getting students involved in instruction and ought not to have to contend with those few students who continually disrupt instruction.

The dependent student presents the teacher with another sort of problem. Dependent students will learn <u>if</u> they are provided with frequent monitoring and feedback concerning task completion. Otherwise, their lack of ability to sequence information at a complex level causes

them to get off-task easily. If this happens, their accuracy rate diminishes as well. Effective teachers quickly identify these students, and create systems of "checking-in" with them as instruction proceeds. Large numbers of these students in a single class may require so much of a teacher's attention that the pace of instruction is slowed for the remainder of the class. Some effective teachers learn to deal with this by assigning "buddies" to dependent participants, i.e., someone who can provide accurate feedback and information with respect to task completion and accuracy. Frequently, social participants make good buddies, or peer teachers.

A second comment in order here is that the assignment of students to classes should take student participation characteristics into consideration. Too many dependent, alienate, or isolate participants in a single class can cause teachers tremendous problems. At the secondary level, this problem is exacerbated primarily because of the tracking that begins to take place. Students who take subjects like algebra, foreign languages, and advanced sciences are likely to be success-oriented students. Thus, because dependent, isolate, and alienate participants are unlikely to take these classes, two conditions tend to prevail in secondary schools. Success/multitask and social participants tend to wind up together in classes throughout the school day, and conversely, dependent, isolate, and alienate participants tend to spend the day together in their classes. In her review of recent literature concerning the conditions of secondary schooling, Ward (1983) suggested that smaller schools more frequently exhibit this problem because fewer course offerings can be made available to students.

Schooling practitioners need to consider the various student participation characteristics as they design schooling experiences. The assignment of students to classes can contribute significantly to the success of schooling experiences for an entire cohort of students. In addition, of course, the issues of equity inherent in tracking and other class assignment strategies demand attention if students are to be provided equitable schooling opportunity.

IV. IMPLEMENTING EQUITABLE SCHOOLING OPPORTUNITY

An enduring challenge for schools of the future will be to adjust their programs to accommodate (1) emerging new knowledge and technology, (2) the changing goals of society, and (3) the variety of students' learning characteristics and needs. Equitable schooling opportunity can be the vehicle for meeting this challenge.

The most robust activity an entire school faculty can engage in is involved in an ongoing process of "changing." Four assumptions guide this process. They will be mentioned here only briefly since it is not the purpose of this paper to focus on how change can be accomplished most effectively.

First, research on school innovation suggests that the individual school is the most efficient and important unit of change. This is not to say that other, larger aggregates of schooling units, like school districts, do not play an important role in the change process.

Second, the principal in the role of instructional leader is the mediator of change, and it is through a principal's leadership and support that educational programs at a given school either will or will not be planned, executed, and evaluated. Many principals need information and assistance with facilitating change. It remains the responsibility of those who set policy to provide them with appropriate support in the change effort. This support may be in the form of training, policy, budget, etc. One valuable resource is those principals

who have brought about significant changes in their schools, particularly those changes which resulted in providing the sorts of equitable schooling opportunity described in this paper. Some of these included:

1. Staff development
    - o Actively recruit bilingual teachers and aides
    - o Provide professional development experiences for staff which include knowledge of minority cultures within a school population
2. Expectations
    - o Convey the expectation to staff and students that all children can learn regardless of home culture
3. Curriculum
    - o Include minority cultures in the curriculum through attention to holidays, language studies, history, literature, etc.
    - o Treat minority cultures within the school as a curriculum resource
4. Example
    - o Convey by example: respect, interest, and high expectations for minority students

Third, it is expected that changes in society will occur even more rapidly in the future. This suggests that schools will be required to deal with change as part of their ongoing planning and decision-making. Research on school change suggests that planning for change is a continuing activity, involving faculty as well as principals.

Fourth, changes such as those proposed here can most effectively result when the principles of how adults learn are observed and applied. Sprinthall & Theis-Sprinthall (1983) and Tikunoff & Ward (1981) provide

insights into how school faculties have utilized this information to innovate change, change their own behavior, and in the process, construct more effective learning experiences for their students.

The task of providing equitable schooling opportunity for all students should engage all school personnel. The academic and technical development of our nation's most precious resource--its young people--is primarily the responsibility of our schools. To leave a significant proportion of this resource undeveloped due to inequitable schooling practices is a shameful waste. Continued planning and innovation will be required to prepare all students for a productive and fulfilling adulthood in the rapidly changing future. We hope that this conceptualization of equitable schooling opportunity will contribute to this effort.

AUTHOR'S NOTES

1. Further information can be found in Dreeban, 1967; Mehan, 1979; Bidwell, 1972.

2. Much has been written about the "meaning" of going to school, including the so-called "hidden curriculum." See, for example, Herndon, 1968; Dreeban, 1968; Postman & Weingartner, 1969; Jackson, 1968; Bossert, 1979.

3. The most recent, complete review of the factors of effective schools is by Purkey & Smith (1983). For a recent criticism of this body of literature, see Rowan et al., 1983.

4. For further information concerning effective principals, see Hord, 1981; Houts, 1975; Huling, Hall & Hord, 1982; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982; and Lipham, 1981.

5. For further information, see Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1974; Soar & Soar, 1972; McDonald & Elias, 1976; Tikunoff, Berliner, & Rist, 1975; Brophy & Evertson, 1974, 1976; Fisher et al., 1978; Good & Grouws, 1975.

6. This discussion of mediation of instruction is excerpted from several documents by the author which report facets of the SBIF descriptive study. For other examples of mediation of instruction for varying "children at risk," see the collection of articles in Hawley, 1982.

7. Three cautionary comments are necessary in interpreting this feature. First, language alternation as described here is not the same as what linguists refer to as "code switching." While linguists have a variety of definitions for this term, colloquial usage among practitioners defines code switching as occuring when a speaker of two languages, talking with a another person who understands both, switches from one language to another within a single stream of meaning, alternately using words or phrases from both languages. Apparently, code switching occurs when the speaker chooses a term in one language, or when a term is indigenous to one of the languages, or when it is more appropriate given the context of the discourse. Language alternation as observed in the Part I sample is described as an attempt to communicate meaning. Thus, teachers used L1 to repeat or paraphrase something which had been stated in L2. This was particularly true when the cognitive complexity of a lesson increased and LEP students might not have known English terminology for lesson content. While code switching may have occurred, it was not done in this instructional context and is not considered to be part of this phenomenon.

Second, language alternation usually was spontaneous and unplanned. This is in contrast to a bilingual instructional method which advocates concurrent translation, wherein a statement or a portion of a planned lesson is first given in one language and then repeated as faithfully as possible in the second. Instead, language alternation apparently was in response to the context during a given lesson and was used spontaneously whenever a teacher sensed that a LEP student was not understanding.

Third, effective communication by the teacher as described here should not be confused with what linguists term "language proficiency." Whether teachers in the Part I sample were proficient in either L1 or L2 was not a focus of the study. Equally as important, however, is whether language is used effectively and results in competent student participation in instructional activity. It is unlikely that LEP students with minimal English skills could have accumulated the high ALT recorded for this sample were it not for the ability of the teachers to use L1 for a portion of the instruction. By so doing, they mediated effective instruction, which resulted, in turn, in the ability of their LEP students to respond appropriately to instructional task demands.

8. Fisher et al. (1978) called this Academic Learning Time (ALT) the time a student spends in a particular content area engaged in learning tasks with a high degree of accuracy. The basic components of ALT are allocated time (the time a teacher spends in actual instruction in a certain area, not including time spent with transitions between activities, passing out books and materials, handling distractions, etc.); student engagement; and student accuracy.

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